101 /4 cont./
175 French and English have been propelling their respective cultural
177 influences toward the heart of Guiana.

8. Since when I talk about these Indians I might seem
123 partial because of the great affection which I have for them
114 and which they similarly have for me, I prefer to yield the floor to the illustrious ethnologist of Stuttgart, who asserts that the Taurepán Indians are the most pleasant, intelligent, /5/ and even the most physically perfect among all of the natives whom he came to know in his many excursions through the South American continent.

159 In a propaganda article I recall having written: "These Indians are pleasant in their dealings, in their manners, and in their language; they are hospitable, they are suspicious but never hostile toward strangers; they have a great love for their land, for their rivers, and for the places where they live, and they are very fond of pondering its beauties and like it very much when others praise them."

Elsewhere I also wrote and must repeat here: "With regard to their intellectual qualities I believe, as do most missionaries, that these Indians are not dull of wit nor lacking in morality. They have undoubtedly an excess of imagination with the consequences thereof, this being a characteristic of all who live in direct contact with, and as though absorbed by, virgin nature. The lack of stimulus toward all that is outside their ancestral standard or canon of life has given rise to their being called lazy or indolent, which we believe an unjust bad report."

114 9. The ethnographic or racial characteristics of the Pemón Indians can be examined in these words, which in the interest
[262] of greater brevity I copy from Dr. Simpson: "They subsist
[276] principally on cassava and ají; and they use tobacco; they use
[411] blowguns and poison arrows; they poison rivers to catch fish;
[226] they build semipermanent houses and sleep in hammocks;
[342] originally they did not wear clothing or only a simple loincloth;
[513] formerly they practiced empollamiento /"breeding, hatching"/
[291]

2:Armellada--22a M-5 (1933-1945) 1946 SS16 Pemon SS16

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A Gran Sabana family, whose children have been educated at the Mission.

2:Armellada--22b M-5 (1933-1945) 1946 SS16 Pemon SS16

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Authentic type of native girl educated at the Mission with the Franciscan sisters.

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Straw hut which served as a house for the missionary and as a chapel where he celebrated the Divine Mysteries in Kavanayén.

2:Armellada--32a M-5 (1933-1945) 1946 SS16 Pemon SS16

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Mission natives happy and satisfied on a holiday.

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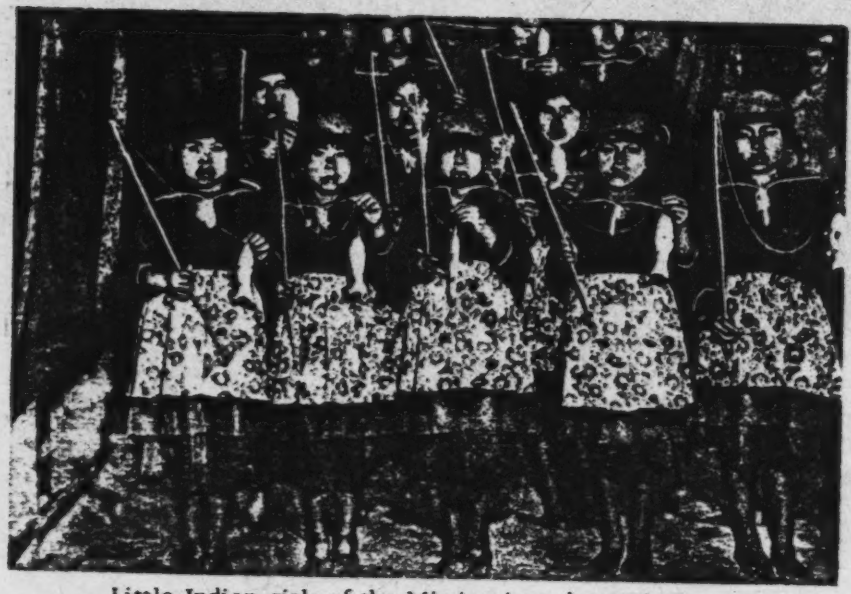
The missionary breaking ground to make it produce.

2:Armellada--42a M-5 (1933-1945) 1946 SS16 Pemon SS16



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Little Indian girls of the Mission in a dramatic performance.

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One of the many rivers which run through the Gran Sabana and a beautiful grove of moriche palms.

/40 cont./
which I copied a few days ago because of its great similarity to those used by our Indians, in all of the essential elements,

Charms

Charm for when there are many mosquitos. The palm bear /oso palmero/ and the nocturnal bird called masak-yún, which literally means father of the mosquitos, are invoked. "I, I do make that of all the animals the mosquitos should not keep me awake. On this being said, it fanned itself with its immense tail. And it enchanted itself, saying: I am the progenitor of uasunsuk (uasunsuk piá); I am the progenitor of the kochirí (kochirí piá). "With this charm the uoro-uorí, or fan for fanning away mosquitos, is charmed! And this done the plague disappears and one can sleep in peace."

(Written in Pemón by the native Pablo Fierro de Kukenán.)

Charm for working or weaving manare /sieve/. Piaimá is invoked. Although he has a small child, he begins to weave manare; but disease or his evil influence does not reach the child, nor does it turn his neck, nor does it do any other evil to him. He said, chanting to himself: "I, I do weave the fiber of the manare; I, progenitor of pichiuai; I, progenitor of ipó. With this are charmed those who, being fathers of small children, weave objects of basketwork. And with this also are blown upon or charmed children before they begin to work in this."

(Copied in Pemón by the same person.)

Charm for sandals and for face painting. The thunder-lightening, uaranapí, in spite of being the father of a small child, took his kumí, painted his face with striae and went on a trip and the malicious beings did not recognize him, the case being that they were posted to cast the evil eye upon him; he scorned them. He said, making a charm: Here am I, I, progenitor of chichiu. This is the so-called taurón, or

This is the so-called tauróm, or
291 /40 cont./
789 charm for sandals or for face paintings before going on a trip
302 so that Amariuak will not see us, for he is the spirit of fainting
484 spells, epileptic attacks, etc.

(Written down in Pemón by the same person.)

060 The Egyptian magic formula against burns says as follows: "Thy son, Horus, burns upon the mountain. -- Is there water there? -- No, there is not. -- There is water in my mouth, the Nile is between my legs. I am going to extinguish the fire. (These words are said over the /plate appears here/ /41/ milk of one who has given birth to a child, over seeds, over sheep's wool. It is applied to the burn.)"

126 Many of the times when I was collecting their charms for
753 study, they would tell me with all innocence and candor that
123 these were the remedies that God had provided them with. And when I put it to them how was it that we, thanks to a moderate life and to medicines, were healthier than they, they replied that this was not due to medicines but to the many prayers which the Fathers knew.

90. Indian mothers, extremely loving and as devoted as any woman to their children, on several occasions attributed the coincidental illness of their children to the evil influence of paper (karetá) or the slips of paper on which they saw us writing their names; either because they considered the paper itself to be mysterious, or perhaps because they believed that the tender soul of the children might become stuck to the paper. Others, by contrast, attributed the well-being of their newborn to blowing, salt, crosses, and other baptismal ceremonies.

All this that I say is naturally now coming to be understood, since, thanks to God, these false impressions are gradually being set aside, founded as they were in the paralogisms of magic, and the distinction between spiritual religion and corporal medicine is coming to be understood.

2:Armellada--53a M-5 (1933-1945) 1946 SS16 Pemon SS16

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With the greatest confidence does the missionary come into the presence of the natives, since they see in him their great benefactor.

2:Armellada--74b M-5 (1933-1945) 1946 SS16 Pemon SS16

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Native mothers with their children receiving gifts from a missionary sister.

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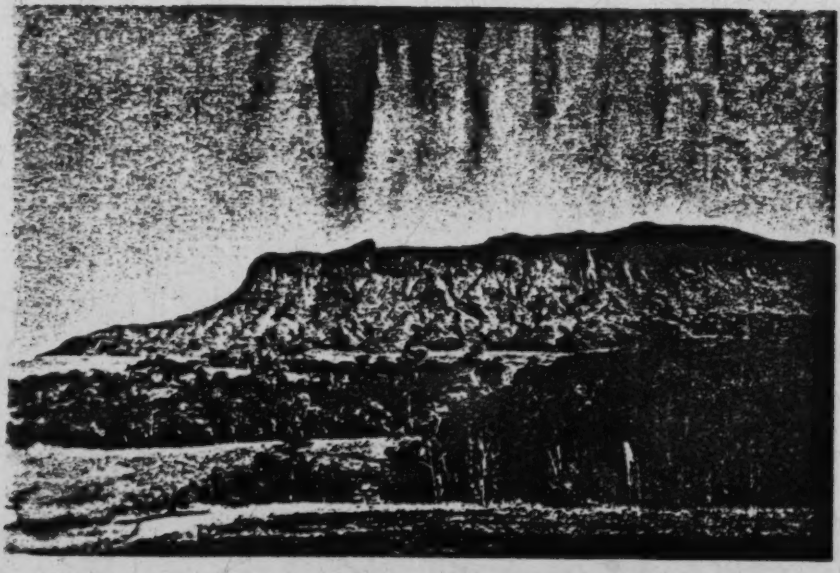

This great stone mass and these woods tell us of the secrets enclosed in the Gran Sabana.

2:Armellada--74c M-5 (1933-1945) 1946 SS16 Pemon SS16

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A cute little Indian child in a guayare.

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Central mountain ridges of the Gran Sabana, covered with a beautiful moriche palm grove.

/68 cont./

156 are free persons, has his own moral conduct. And even though among the Indians there does not exist the great discrimination and complexity as among us, neither can we fall into the utopia of believing them identical to the point of repeating the saying that "their faces and their characters are like grains of rice."

577 Having made this reservation, we shall say that shame and modesty are words which form a part of the linguistic fund of these Indians and, consequently, the ideas of their moral fund. We speak of modesty in physiological actions and in the modest parts of the body; and of shame for immoral actions in the broadest sense of this word.

147. To say that clothing engenders modesty and not vice versa and to suppose that customs (mores) create the concept of morality and not the reverse is to invert the concepts provided by history and by intimate personal experience.

It is true that clothes produce a certain kind of accidental modesty; and thus, verbi gracia, those of us who use long robes or long trousers would be embarrassed to walk around with trousers up to the knee or a tunic that only comes halfway down the leg. But there is a minimum of /69/ clothing required by the minimum of natural modesty, whether they be the mythical fig leaves, the classic grape leaves, or the native loincloths made of glass beads, palm leaves, the neck of a gourd, or a /piece of/ tree bark /concha de arboles/. Thus it is that not even among the Pemón nor even among other even poorer and more isolated tribes, such as the Sapé, Arutaní, Sirianá, and Motilón, have we ever found an Indian in puris naturalibus, or a naked Indian. By means of trade with neighboring tribes or by their own industry they all manage not to be without at least a humble guayuco, loincloths, a covering of foliage, or whatever it might be called.

/69 cont./

148. The propagandists of nudism as a very natural and comfortable thing should have seen or tested somewhat the preference of all kinds of insects for the parts that modesty hides in order to be conscious of how erroneous their theories are.

In error a number of ethnographers and Freudian writers state that clothes have the function of aphrodisiacs (to veil for more attraction), based on the fact that the Indians use adornments even on their miserable guayucos. It is true that this phenomenon does occur indirectly; but with better discernment before them did Cicero say that clothing, used at first to satisfy necessity, later served for adornment and seduction; thus it is a natural law of man in his dwelling, food, language, and in all other things, to mix what is sweet and attractive with what is useful and necessary.

291 In any case, all theories aside, what is certain is that the Indians in their rustic clothing, more in their words by means of euphemisms, and even more in their acts, which they resolutely guard, are in general modest.

149. In the moral system, developing the comparison which we set forth at the beginning, there occurs the same thing as in the physiological system. There is a positive, accidental morality which is based on and confused with customs or practices; in this regard the famous saying of Pascal comes to mind: "True and good on this side of the Pyrenees; false and bad over on the other side." But there is another universal morality independent of the practices and the will of man, the same in all geographic latitudes hither and beyond the seas, invariable in the midst of the variability of times and of climes, which strikes us and his upon the soul like a categorical imperative, just as corporal light strikes us through the eyes. This is simply natural morality, which accompanies every man as instinct accompanies every animal. /70/

150. It is true that practice does not always arrive at the level of the moral concept or knowledge of duty, but this is a failing common to all men. The saying, "video meliora

2:Armellada--107a M-5 (1933-1945) 1946 SS16 Pemon SS16

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The native women of the Gran Sabana involved in their weaving.

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Fibers and weaving of the native women of the Gran Sabana.

Hunting

/82 cont./

and fishing equipment: bow and arrows, blowgun and quiver, traps and nets, harpoon and hook. Poisons for the same: curare and several kinds of Verbascum. Culinary equipment: grater, manioc strainer, a fine sieve, baking pan, small mats, ollas, large wide-mouthed jars for catching rain, and mixing bowls. Ranchos or temporary dwellings and houses of fixed location: the former rectangular and the latter circular with conical roofs. Items of clothing and adornment: loincloths, feminine guayucos, moriche /palm/ sandals, wrist and ankle rings, garters, foliage coverings /pampanillas/, halos, necklaces and earrings; hammocks, bags, and straps for carrying children. Their household items: small benches, pothooks, cumazas /large gourd dishes/, awls, guayares, and an infinity of baskets. Their instruments of navigation: paddle and pole, balsas and canoes made from tree trunks or with their bark /concha/ only. Their textiles: with the spindle, fibers twisted upon the thigh, other braided fibers and small weavings done on rudimentary looms. Their musical instruments: timbrels, whistles /pipes/, flutes, war trumpets /botutos/, and drums. Their agricultural cultivations: yucca, plantains, maize, cane, ají, auyama /gourd plant/, cotton, tobacco, and various sorts of tubers. The preparation of foodstuffs: boiled and roasted food, cassava and mañoco /maize flour/ ground in a mortar, guarapos /sugar-cane juice/ and purées, fermented and nonfermented. Etc., etc.

179. It should be made clear that these Indians for many generations have, through other neighboring intermediary tribes, been obtaining some instruments of our European civilization: knives, machetes, chícoras, axes, fishhooks, firearms, files, mirrors, glass beads, cloth for loincloths /guayucos/. But they still remember a time when they used to make their loincloths and straps for carrying children from the bark of special trees; when they made their fishhooks with thorns from plants or barbs from fish; when they made their arrows with tips of bone, wood, or a special cane; when they used dextrales (stone

2:Armellada--118a M-5 (1933-1945) 1946 SS16 Pemon SS16

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Rudimentary loom on which the Indian woman of the Sabana makes her clothes.

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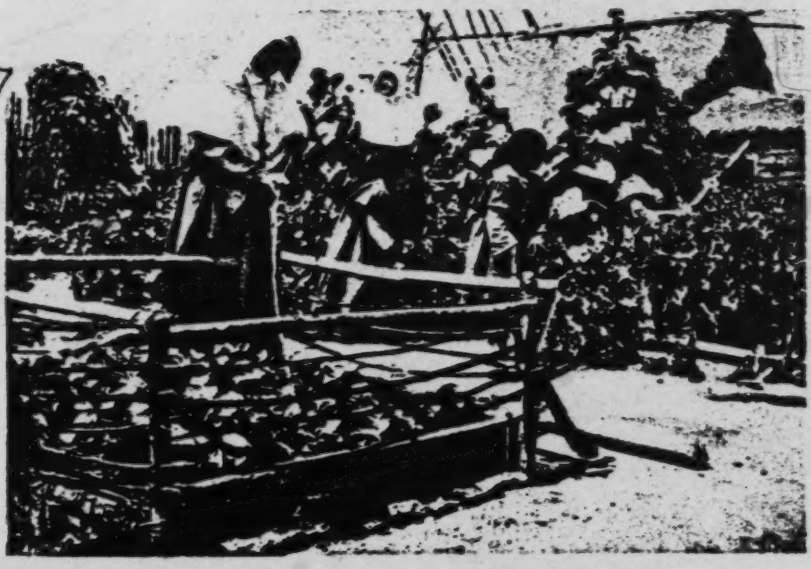

Beautiful plantings of greenery at the Capuchin Mission.

2:Armellada--129a M-5 (1933-1945) 1946 SS16 Pemon SS16

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In the midst of weaving under the supervision of the Missionary Sister.

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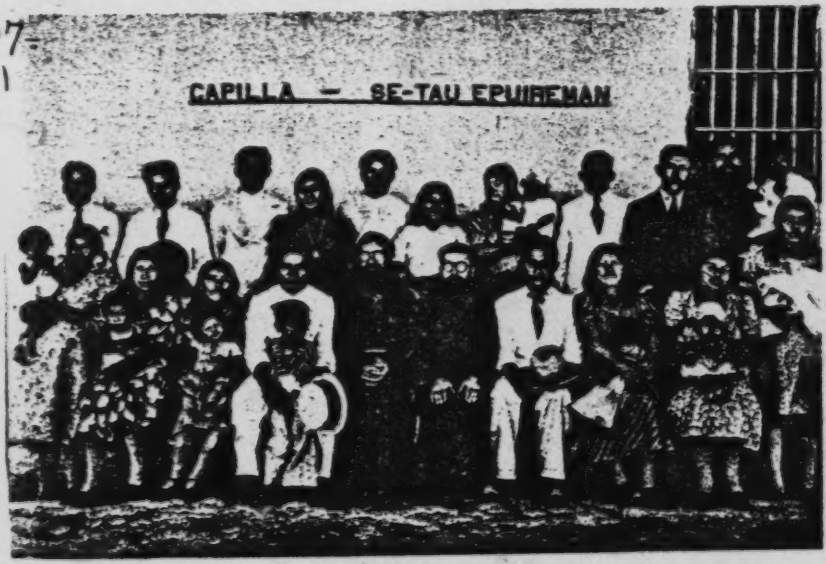

Next to the Mission Chapel these married couples of Venezuelan Sabana aborigines pose with the missionaries so that the public may recognize the work for country which is being carried out among them.

/99 cont./

291 Returning to the comparison with clothing, it can be seen quite clearly that it is not necessary to deprive the Indians of their beads and rustic adornments in order that they may adopt our ways of dressing, which are more useful against the inclemencies of the seasons and biting insects; nor is it necessary that by force we oblige them to dress and to wear footwear; their own need and their own desire stimulate them sufficiently
77 toward it. Thus, neither more nor less happens to them with religion, since they scarcely have the rudiments of it, they are desirous of completing them with our explanations and teachings.

And to want us, as some would have it, not to give them any religious instruction whatsoever, is like wanting us not to give them clothing for their bodies, nor to explain physics to them, nor that we assist their agriculture, nor give them medicine. Could it perhaps be that life is not worth more than nourishment and the body more than clothing? /100/

Conclusion

Now, to end our ethnographic notes, here is an anecdote of something that happened to me on a certain occasion and at a certain place, the name of which is of no matter. Besieged and roasted by questions on the most varied matters regarding Indians, after I had run out of explanations, I chose to answer everything with the aforesaid "more or less like ourselves." Then one of my questioners, half in jest, struck me this blow: "Father, however much you may say, the most that we shall concede you is that Indians are the animal most similar to man."

I hope that my patient readers will have gotten a slightly higher idea of the Indians in the course of the chapters in which I have tried to study their soul and present it just as I have seen it during my years of living happily among them.

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/For further information about changes and continuities in many specific aspects of Kamarakoto culture from aboriginal to modern times, see categories 177 and 178, pp. 273-279./

*192 informants. wai-ka-ra-bo is given by Williams for "basket" (in general) in
*197 Makuchi, but I suspect that it includes only certain types of baskets, like its
285 Taurepán cognate. At least in Kamarakoto and Taurepán there appears to be no one word for "basket" but only a large number of words for particular kinds of baskets — the sort of specificity and lack of abstraction so common in primitive languages.

*192 d. Clothing, personal ornamentation, and allied words.
301 154. (Glass) bead — kasu:ru.
155. String of glass beads (simple) — kasu:ru pərega:nsa.
156. String necklace with various objects tied on — yaichi[1].
157. Seeds (bell-like) used on necklaces — tirirnka.
158. A streamer with such seeds — te-pülü.
159. Bead necklace patterns — waroro-yeupə-pɛ katsa[1], i.e. "twisted (or woven) waroro (kind of fish) bones."
160. okõi-yeupa, i.e. "snake-bones."
— and other similar descriptive phrases.
161. Twisted bead belt (for men) — kasu:ru-seke-katsa[1].
[304] 162. Tattooing — meta:men
*192 163. *Clothing, costume, dress — pondo[1], (i)pon. Taurepán (Koch-
291 Grünberg) (u)mbaipon, (u)pon.
*192 164. Loin-cloth (men) — wayiku. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) kamizha-
*197 le. Makuchi (Williams) ka-mi-cha. Cumanagoto (Adam)
241 huaicu-r,[50] "woman's apron." Chaima (Adam)
177 guayuco,[50] "woman's apron." The Taurepán and Makuchi words are from the Spanish (or Portuguese) "camisa" — "shirt" — a curious transfer apparently explicable by the fact that "camisa" was first transferred by the Indians to trade-cloth, such as is used for shirts. Their loin-cloths are now made of such cloth and not of native fabrics. This is also true of the Kamarakotos, but they have retained a Carib word. In most, but not all, other Carib dialects this word applies to the female apron and not the male loin-cloth but in Kamarakoto it is used only for the latter. This Indian word, as "guayuco," is familiar in Venezuelan Spanish and is generally taken to mean the female apron.
*192 165. *Belt (men, generally only a cotton string used to hold up wayiku)
*197 — tien-akɛmüi. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) y negam.
291 166. *Bead apron (women) — motsa. Taurepán, mosa. Makuchi (Williams) mosa.

50 A [see footnote on p. 311, category 116 - Analyst]

167. *Sandals (native, of palm bark and fiber) — purai. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) pəlai (= pəraí).

168. Trade cloth — saraːsa (from Spanish "zaraza").

European mens' clothes —

169. Hat — sombertró
170. Shirt — kamisá
171. Trousers — pantalón
172. Slippers — alpargatá

These are the Spanish words given a Kamarakoto pronunciation.

(A woman's dress of European type is simply called pon, which also means clothing in general)

173. *Legbands (women) — (i)baipu (both bands). Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg), upper band waipu, lower band urakume.

174. *Armbands (women) — (it)abukamũi (both bands). Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) upper band (y)aːpũgamə', lower band (y)eːndapəgemə'.

175. *Earrings — (i)panadaino'. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) panaːda. (pana = "ear").

176. Head-dress (women, for dancing) — inimo-katsa. (Literally "woven fine thread").

177. *Carrying bands (cotton, worn by women for carrying babies) — bene'. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) wene'.

178. *Pouch (crocheted from cotton string, purse-like, generally carried by men) — pakara'. Makuchi (Williams) pa-ka-ra, defined as a sort of basket called a "pegall" or "pack-all" in British Guiana. The Kamarakotos never call a basket pakara (or never make a pakara of basketry). Schomburgk suggests that the Indian word pegala = pakara may have been derived from the English "pack-all." This is certainly a reversal of the process — "pack-all" comes from "pakara." -51

e. Pigments. These pigments are used as face and body paint and also to color baskets (black only), textiles (red), etc. Beeswax and some of the gums and resins used on various objects also have the effect of coloring them but are not applied solely for this purpose and so cannot be considered true pigments.

179. Black — ainatoron. This is soot scraped from earthenware pots. (The aina — may possibly be a combining form of o. ina, "put," and if so the anomalous o. i has here merged into a diphthong.)

Blue-black —

180. *karõi. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) roku, ruku, luku. Sapara, Purokoto, and Wayumara (Koch-Grünberg) luku.

51 [see footnote on p. 312, category 116 — Analyst]

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Fig. 10 — Kamarakoto Calabozo.
The northeast end and southeast side of Building E at Uruyén (see Map, Fig. 12). Although the thatch is in poor repair, the building is in use.

5:Simpson N-5 (1939) 1940 SS16 Pemon SS13
Kamarakoto
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Fig. 14 — Kamarakoto Conuco.
Another part of the same conuco as in Fig. 13, here with a fairly pure stand of mature Manihot, the principal crop. The man (Antonio Montesdeoca, a Kamarakoto) is 1.55 meters in height.

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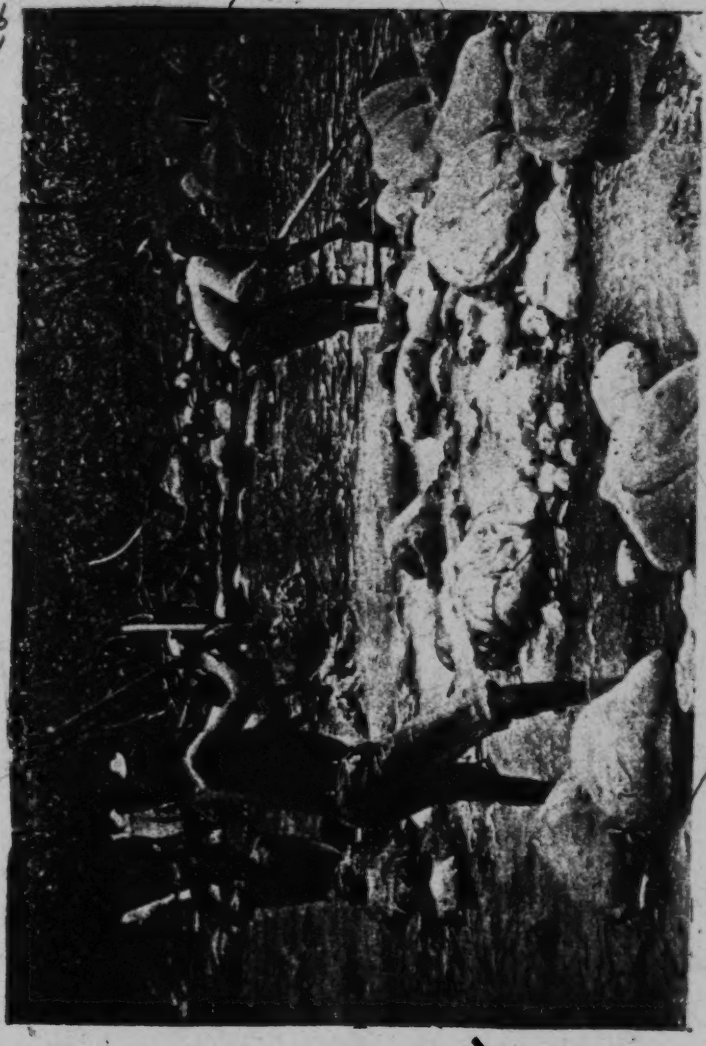

Fig. 20 — Barbasco Fishing.
Men beating the barbasco to liberate the poison in the water.

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Fig. 21 — Barbasco Fishing.
Woman gathering disabled fish with a net (iru').

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Fig. 22 — Barbasco Fishing.
Women with nets (iru') gathering poisoned fish from a pool.

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5:Simpson N-5 (1939) 1940 SS16 Pemon SS16 Kamarakoto

Fig. 25 – Pressing Casave.

Typical use of the Arekuna casave-press, tangoi' (Venezuelan Spanish "sebucán"). This woman is Taurepáni, but the press and its use are identical among the Kamarakotos.

137c

285 kumara-katsa? — large, flat palm-leaf mats used as doors and, occasionally on floors.

The blowgun dart quiver and kapok carrier are also of basketwork, as are fish traps.

285 422 It is obvious that baskets are essential to the Kamarakotos and that their households require and are characterized by a large number of these of many different kinds. A household has 25 to 30 baskets, or even more, of at least ten different sorts.

Clothing and Ornamentation

Adoption of European Dress.

• 291 177 Most of the members of the central group and a few from outlying places now have some European clothes, but not all of them have and the costume of the tribe at present is curiously miscellaneous. If Father Ramón Bueno's Camaracotos, referred to in the introduction, are really this tribe, they had been clothed to some extent and evidently with some resistance by missionaries by 1800, but even if this is true, it is so probable as to be virtually certain that (European) clothing was completely discarded subsequent to that time. All the Kamarakotos agree that their immediate ancestors wore no European clothing, but it is interesting that most of them place the introduction of such clothing "just before my time," or "when I was a baby." Thus a man probably in his thirties guessed that European clothing was introduced about 30 years ago, and [173] an old man guessed that it was about 60 years ago. The cacique, Alejo Calcaño, gave the latter figure and said that before that the Kamarakotos wore no clothing at all (not even native) and painted themselves bright red all over — a [437] statement that one must consider thoroughly improbable.[127] There is no question that the Kamarakotos became aware of European clothing at least 25 or 30 years ago through their natural tendency to trade and to go on commercial expeditions. Ever since then some such clothing has probably been possessed occasionally by members of the tribe. Even now it cannot be said to be generally adopted or to have replaced native costume. The Angels say that in 1934 only one man in the tribe had trousers and that something less than half of the women were without dresses. Since then the several expeditions have provided them with large quantities of clothing and of cloth so that the supply is now sufficient to clothe most of the central group, but even when we left many of the men from places farthest from Uruyén and some of the women were still in native costume.[128]

The first foreign clothing to be adopted by the men is trousers. The women make for them loose shorts, reaching about to the knees, from trade goods.

127, 128 [see footnotes on p. 322, category 116 - Analysis]

[text continues on p. 48]

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5:Simpson N-5 (1939) 1940 SS16 Pemon SS16
Kamarakoto

Fig. 31 — Kamarakoto Female Europeanized Costume.
Both women are wearing typical, bright red dresses made by themselves (the woman on the right is kneeling). The woman on the left is sewing a seam in characteristic fashion, holding the cloth with the toes and sewing toward the body.

291 177 but they prefer ordinary manufactured long trousers. To this may be added a shirt, a pair of alpargatas, and perhaps a hat — few men have this much.[129]

[822] Aside from alpargatas, which a few of them have acquired, the only European clothes used by women are dresses, which they make themselves from cotton trade goods, preferably bright red.[130]

294 These dresses are made from a straight piece of goods, folded double, sewn along the selvage.[131] About six inches are left unsewn next to the fold, for armholes, and a hole is cut for the neck in the middle of the fold. They are neatly hemmed and the neck is often finished with a band, usually of [1177] another color. Steel needles and store thread are used. All sewing is done with double thread and they begin with a very long strand with the result that it knots frequently and they spend considerable time patiently unknotting it. The cloth is usually held by one foot, between the first and second toes, stretching the cloth out in a straight line from body to foot and sewing toward the body (Fig. 31). Stitches are large and irregular in length. Side seams are sewn with a half-back stitch. Only one variant was seen, with the two pieces whipped together as in overcasting. Hems are sewn either half-back or with a single running stitch, usually the latter.

Strips of cloth used to bind the neck edges are about one inch wide, straight, sewn on with running stitch, turned and caught down with a hemming stitch. Necklines may be of various sorts, boat-shaped, round, round with a [853] slit down the front, etc. For nursing mothers they must be large enough to permit the child to get at the breast, although occasionally the armhole is left extra large and the breast reached through it. If the goods happens to be extra wide, crude, irregular pleats may be taken around the neck. Dresses usually reach to just below the knees.

291 177 These dresses are thus somewhat different, both in methods of making and in pattern, from those current in Venezuela and they represent the interesting phenomenon, so well illustrated by North American tribes in historic times, of the development of new native cultural traits on the basis of introduced materials.

Native Costume.

The dresses thus described are native costume fully within the meaning of the words, but under this heading I shall describe the older costume, still extant and only now in process of being partly supplemented and partly replaced by costumes European in basic model.

291 The man's costume consists solely of a belt, loincloth, and sometimes sandals. The belt, tien-aka:mũi (a word also applied to European belts), generally consists simply of a white cotton string tied around the waist. Sometimes, for special occasions, a more elaborate belt of twisted strands of beads is used

129-131 [see footnotes on p 322, category 116 - Analyst]

291 (Fig. 33A). The loincloth is a long band of red fabric, now always trade goods but formerly of cotton homespun, passed between the legs, looped over the belt, and usually, but not always, wrapped around the waist, in such a way as to form a tight pouch over penis and testicles with one end hanging free in front of this and the other similarly hanging down behind.

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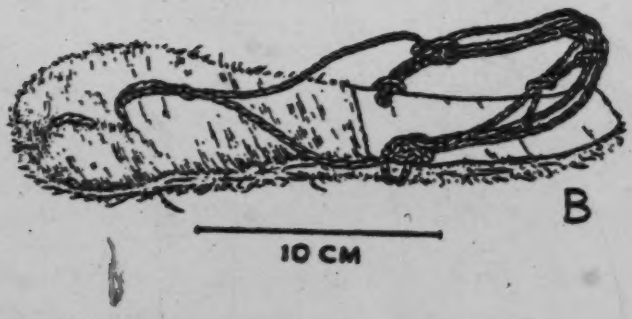

Fig. 32 — Kamarakoto Earring and Sandal.
A, earring, a silver crescent pendant with red, white, and blue beads and red cotton tassels. B, typical sandal of moriche palm leaf base with moriche fiber cords.

[283] [284]

[171] The native sandal (Fig. 32 B), is almost identical in pattern with one of the crudest types used by the lower classes in northern Venezuela, but it seems certain that the latter is a survival of a widespread pre-Columbian pattern and that this is native and not introduced among the Kamarakotos and allied tribes.[132]

132 A [see footnote on p. 322, category 116 - Analyst]

The nearly flat sole is cut from the thick, fibrous, and nearly inflexible leaf base of a moriche palm. On the upper (foot) side, the anterior end is peeled, while the heel part is left with the smooth surface of the cortex. Cords of moriche fiber are used, several cords running together from holes on each side at the front of the heel part (at the instep) and these run behind and above the heel when the sandal is worn. A double cord is attached through three holes (in longitudinal series) at the front part of the sandal so as to run between the first (big) and second toes, then separating and tying to the heel cords above their attachments on each side. Essentially similar sandals are worn by almost all the sabana Indians of this whole area, even into northern Brazil. They are another indication, if any is needed, that the Kamarakotos are decidedly sabana Indians, for sandals are rarely or never used by the forest tribes and are, for instance, unknown in the mainly forested Amazon valley, proper. Even the sabana Indians, including the Kamarakotos, seldom wear them, however, doing so only on relatively long marches in the dry season and taking them off around their homes or on soft or slippery terrane. These sandals are called purai while the recently introduced Venezuelan sandals are called by their Spanish name, "alpargata."

The primitive female costume consists only of an apron just large enough to cover the pubic region and with attached strings by which it is tied around the waist. This apron, the mosa or motsa, is now always a woven fabric with beads. Like the dress it is an adaptation of a foreign material to native use, but it is a far older one and merely uses the material in a purely native pattern. These aprons are very attractive and are made in a great variety of patterns — indeed I have never seen two exactly alike. The favorite colors are white and dark blue and usually the main part of the apron will be solidly one of these, with geometrical borders of the other above and below. There may rarely be an allover pattern or a median band, and colors other than blue or white are sometimes used, but in all that I have seen blue or white predominates.[133] Some of the women always wear the mosa, even though a dress be worn over it. The dress has thus supplemented and not supplanted the older costume and this is an interesting and quite literal example of cultural stratification.

It is commonly believed that all the Carib tribes, which would include the Kamarakotos, went without any clothing, even loincloths and aprons, in pre-Columbian days and that the practice of covering the pubic region arose under European influence. Koch-Grünberg, for instance, states this very positively as regards the loincloth and notes as a decisive argument that even the (Taurepán, not Arekuna in general) name kamisa, is foreign. De Goeje is equally positive as regards the Dutch and French Guiana Caribs and cites Barrere as saying in 1743 that they were completely naked. Roth quotes numerous authorities to this effect regarding British Guiana Indians and apparently inclines to agree with the consensus although he does not give a specific statement of his own

133 [see footnote on p. 322, category 116 - Analyst]

174 114 291 opinion. Despite this array of authority, I venture to disagree to the extent of believing that both the loincloth and the apron are aboriginal, although their distribution has undoubtedly been modified since the European invasion and perhaps in part because of it.

No one can or does doubt that many tropical Indians went completely naked, and some do to this day, but it is faulty generalization to conclude from early observations of this fact that the loincloth and apron are not aboriginal. Indeed many or most of the early authorities who state that the Indians are naked go on to say that they have loincloths or aprons or both. This is true of Barrere, on whom De Goeje principally relies, and an equally early authority (Gumilla, 1745) also notes the use of loincloths. Harcourt (in "Purchas his pilgrimes"), a still older authority, says, like Barrere, that the Indians are "all naked" and, also like Barrere, immediately adds that some of them do wear loincloths. The evidence of the earliest authorities is not really that clothing was unknown, but merely that some Indians dispensed with it, a fact that is not in any doubt for that or any subsequent time. References to the use of pubic coverings are as old as those to complete nakedness and often are the same references. In the first place these early observers often called an Indian naked even if he (or she) covered the pubic region, but was otherwise bare, and in the second place they emphasized the true nakedness of some individuals or tribes without meaning or saying that all the Indians were stark naked. The scanty but fairly definite historic evidence is thus opposed to the conclusion so often drawn from it: it strongly suggests that some Carib or other tropical Indians were wearing loincloths, at least, probably also aprons, when the Europeans first encountered them.

114 291 177 In any case, I am quite at a loss to see by what reasoning it could be supposed likely that these coverings arose under European influence. The idea verges on the ridiculous, because it is quite obvious that no European visitors wore anything of the sort. They may have urged the more widespread use of the native garment, faute de mieux, although there is little clear evidence even of this, but their efforts in general and as recorded by themselves were of course to make the Indians adopt European garments, dresses for the women and trousers for the men. In fact, to a European missionary or voyager the native apron as female raiment is scarcely more modest than complete nudity and it is contrary to common sense as well as to the records to suppose that they introduced this scanty garment.

174 114 291 Koch-Grünberg's etymological argument is also valueless. Contrary to his statement (also made by Roth and others), there is a native Carib word for loincloth: it is wayiku (and numerous variants) which does not, as commonly supposed, apply only to the female garment. In some tribes it means that; in others, it includes both male and female pubic coverings; in still others, including the Kamarakotos, it means only the male loincloth. It is reasonably certain that the word originally applied to both male and female garments and

174 that its application has become differentiated in later times. The apron, as
114 distinct from a loincloth (such as also has been used by females) is not a
291 wayiku among the Arekunas and many other Caribs, but a mosa (motsa, etc.) and wayiku as a Carib word in general almost surely did not originally mean "apron" but only "loincloth," male or female. Where the word "camisa," in various forms, appears, it has driven out the native word not because the article of apparel was new to the Indians but because the material from which it now came to be made was new. "Camisa" came to mean primarily this foreign material, trade cloth, and secondarily, by a common linguistic transfer, a wayiku made of such cloth. Indeed this etymological argument against the native origin of the loincloth runs abruptly into contradiction because it agrees that there is a native word for the woman's apron and hence logically should grant this aboriginal origin, but the testimony of the early visitors and of comparative studies is that if either is older the loincloth antedates the apron.

[177] Finally, the use of foreign materials (trade cloth and glass beads) in these garments is not evidence against their antiquity, because this is clearly a mere substitution of foreign for native materials in a purely native finished object. In fact both loincloths and aprons of entirely native materials are still encountered among the more remote and poorer tribes, showing the basis to which the preferable new materials have been adapted.

291 The fact, as I believe it to be, that pubic coverings are aboriginal
834 among the Kamarakotos and culturally allied groups may also be correlated
[179] with the fact that the adults of this tribe are extremely modest (more so than Europeans) about uncovering the pubic parts, and are not modest about anything else, even such things as physiological functions or female breasts, which Europeans regard as equally to be concealed.

291 Very small boys do run naked but they put on loincloths long before pu-
855 berty. Sometimes they put on the belt, which is completely nonconcealing but has an almost symbolic significance of departure from babyhood, before they don the loincloth itself. Even if trousers are available, they are seldom worn until after puberty. Girl babies are sometimes naked but are now sometimes supplied with dresses almost at once after birth. Whether dressed or not, by the time they can walk well and leave their mothers, they begin to wear the bead apron, beginning with a very small size and graduating to successively larger ones until they are grown.

Ornaments.

301 Except for particular occasions, especially dances, the men do not usually wear any ornaments, although earrings, necklaces and armlets are occasionally worn.

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Fig. 36 — Kamarakoto Spinning.
The whirling spindle has been dropped. The thread is held by the left hand and unspun cotton fed into it with the right.

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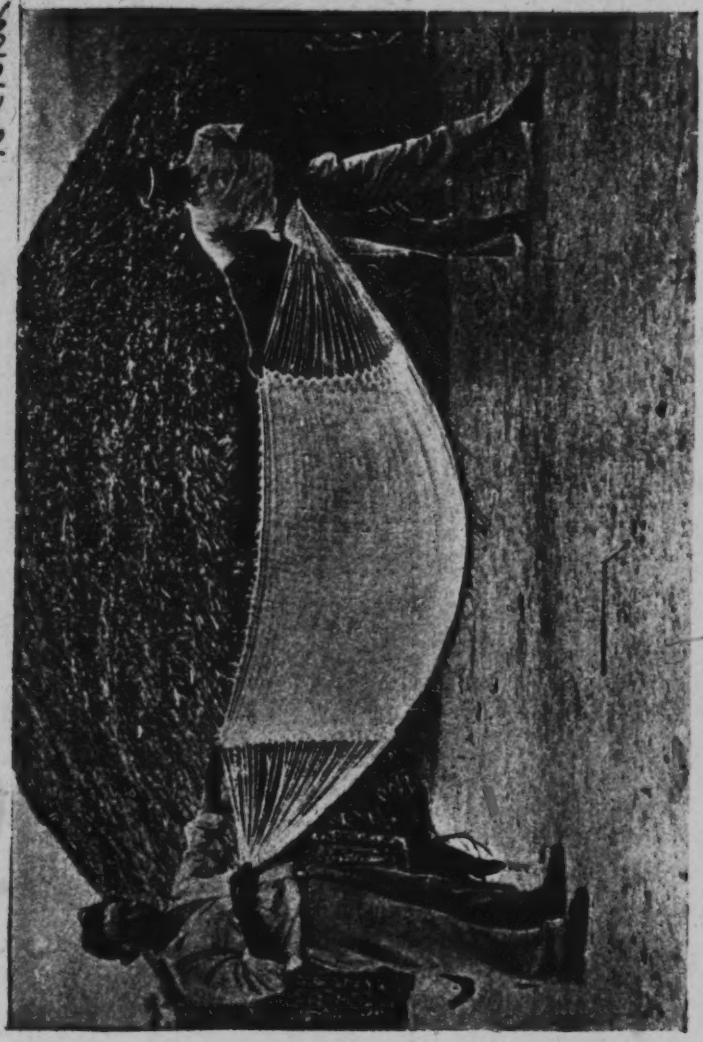

Fig. 39 — Kamarakoto Hammock.
Completed cotton hammock.

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Fig. 47 — Kamarakoto Bead Aprons.

Four typical bead aprons, motsa or mosa. The upper apron, for a small girl, is mainly white with red, white, and blue borders and a blue bead belt. The second is mainly blue with blue and white borders and red beads along top of fringe. The other two are plain blue with blue and white borders. In all four the cotton fringe is irregularly smeared pink or red.

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Fig. 55 – Kamarakoto Basket.
A wakawa', made by plain plaiting of two moriche palm leaves.

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Fig. 74 — Kamarakoto Women Buying Cloth at Expedition Headquarters.

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Fig. 75 — Kamarakoto Piache and Family.

A piache, his wife, and her two sons. From left to right these individuals are Nos. 39, 38, 40 and 41 of our detailed records. The two boys are the woman's sons by a previous marriage, adopted by her present husband. The family lives at Benné, where the man (pseudonym "Lorenzo") is to¹-eta¹.

5:Simpson N-5 (1939) 1940 SS16 Pemon SS16
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437 at an early opportunity pass it on to someone who does want it in exchange for
[436] something that he himself wants.[171] Even gold cannot be considered as a monetary token from the Indian point of view. It is simply a natural product that white men want and that can be traded for things that the Indians want.

439 In strictly inter-tribal trade, the Kamarakotos are not much favored by nature or their own skill and produce little suitable for exchange beyond crude pottery and good basketry. In spite of the fact that all the tribes make baskets, they all trade them also and this without much local specialization. Thus a Kamarakoto may highly prize a Maquiritare otapa despite the fact that he is quite capable of making one himself and that the trade has not been significantly advantageous from the point of view of the labor involved. Pottery is a more obvious subject for trade because there are many households and some whole tribes that use but do not make it.

Within the last generation or two, Kamarakoto trade has been much stimulated by their activities as middlemen for non-Indian goods. For some time they gathered much balata and they still gather some sarrapia (tonka beans) and gold. These are not objects of intertribal trade, but can be traded to Venezuelans, directly or indirectly, for non-Indian goods. To a small extent their hammocks, baskets and other articles of native manufacture and a few other wild products, such as live moriche birds, enter into the same trade. In
[178] exchange for these, knives, machetes, files, fishhooks, guns, ammunition, beads, and cloth are principally sought. The quantity of these obtainable has always been rigidly limited and their necessity has become great, but for the most essential of them, especially knives, machetes and files, the Kamarakoto market is quickly saturated since a man who has one each is equipped for years if not for life. They are thus frequently able to obtain a small surplus of such things, and any surplus is at once expended by trading with still more remote Indians, especially the Maquiritares (including the Maiongones) and their neighbors. Guns and ammunition are prized, but have not become necessities. Un-
[177] [291] til now cloth has been necessary only in very small quantities, but with the increasing feminine fashion of wearing dresses it will become a more essential article of trade. Beads are both a luxury and a necessity and it is still almost impossible for a Kamarakoto to obtain a trading surplus of them. They have commonly been obtained not direct from an outside source but through the Arekunas of the Gran Sabana.

The Indian products required by the Kamarakotos are mainly cassave graters, which they could make themselves but do not; curare, which they do not know how to make and for which the raw materials are perhaps lacking in their country; and blowguns. Sometimes they import the whole blowgun, and sometimes only the inner reed, which does not grow in this region. They also import all sorts of odds and ends, baskets, paddles, etc., that they do make themselves. Dogs are also mentioned by them as desirable imports from other

171 [see footnote on p. 327, category 116 – Analyst]

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Fig. 77 — Kamarakotos Dancing.

The drummer and another male participant in the tukui' dance. This is the drum shown in Fig. 68.

I A [See P. 204, Category 116 — Analysis]

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Fig. 78 — Kamarakoto Boys Wrestling.

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Fig. 79 — Kamarakoto Boy.

The boy (No. 35 of our detailed records) is playing with improvised bow and arrow. Note his neck-string (yaichi') with miscellaneous objects tied to it. His dress is uncommon for a boy.

152 parents and children, and friends there are evident expressions of pleasure and
[593] consideration, exchanges of gifts, and efforts to please. Children play together
857 in greatest amity (Figs. 81, 82),[2] and it is common to see boy chums who are al-
most always together and often stand arm in arm.

858 Children in general lead unusually happy and secure lives. Although not
855 given tasks beyond their strength, they are not treated as something apart from
adult life but are integral members of society like everyone else and share in
all activities on an equal basis. They are well treated and deferred to as much
[961] as one adult would defer to another. They seldom need disciplining, because
they act much like their elders beyond a greater playfulness, which is quite
innocent, and no adult activities are categorically forbidden them. We never
saw a child disciplined and saw few cases of their needing it, in our opinion.
854 The small babies cry infrequently because they usually get what they want with-
out crying. Several times when a baby cried for something that an older child
had, the older child gave it, even if a little reluctantly.

Until they can walk, children almost never leave their mothers. They
are carried everywhere in the baby-sling, to such an extent that a sling with a
[853] baby in it seems part of an adult woman's costume (Fig. 83).[2] The baby never
feels insecure, because he is always with his mother, and he is never hungry,
because her breast is always there for him to help himself. He is an honored and
155 protected member of society from his first breath. There can be little doubt
854 that much of the placidity and amiability of the people has its origin in the
baby-sling. Most civilized mothers could learn a great deal about the psycholog-
ical, if not the physical, care of infants from the Kamarakotos. Their system
does not, as some theorists would suppose, produce what we would call "spoiled"
children, but produces happy and reasonable ones.

847 Some Carib tribes have practiced extensive infanticide and perhaps some
[177] still do. Of course the Kamarakotos deny this in their case, and it is so con-
892 trary to their characters that they are doubtless truthful in this denial. They
[897] seem greatly to desire children. Orphans are adopted, usually but not always
by a paternal uncle, as a matter of course and are in every respect treated like
their own children by the foster parents. No woman said or seemed to feel that
she had too many, or even enough, children.

Modesty.

834 The Kamarakotos are extremely modest, but only on one point. Adults
[514] do not expose the pubic region, even before members of the same sex. Men
and women show no particular reticence in performing physiological functions
in plain sight of persons of either sex, but manage to do so in such a way that
● [291] the pubic region is not in view. Very small boys are not embarrassed at being
quite naked, but as soon as the loincloth is put on they begin to show modesty.

[2] [see pp. 265a and 265b, category 116 - Analyst]
[2] [see p. 280a, category 116 - Analyst]
[text continues on p. 266]

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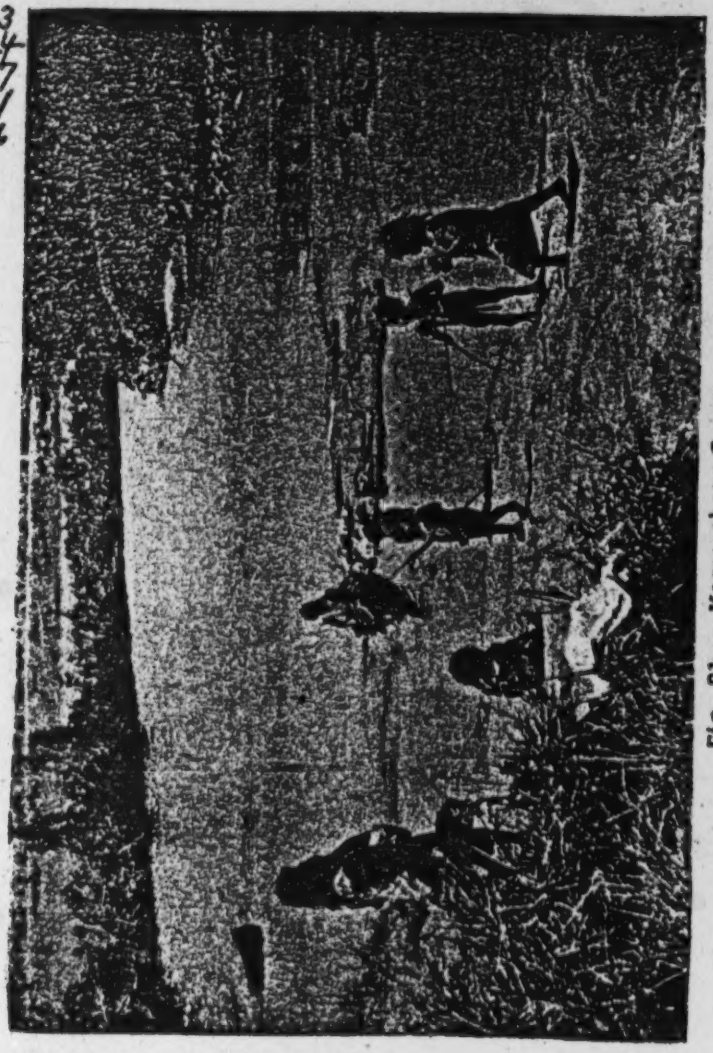

Fig. 81 — Kamarakoto Group.
The small children are playing while a woman washed clothes in the Aichá River.

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Fig. 82 — Kamarakoto Chums.
Playmates sunning themselves on a rock after swimming.

834 With them, and of course this is well established as a general rule, clothes are
● 291 not worn because of modesty, but modesty arises from the use of clothes. Boys who had just started wearing loincloths would often remove them when swimming, but then if someone was around they would put a hand over the pubic region on emerging from the water and would turn their backs while donning the loincloth again.

291 No particular modesty is shown regarding other parts of the body. The
177 women would not visit us without dresses, but it was evident that the motive was not modesty but pride. A dress is not primarily a covering, but an ornament, a sign of prosperity, and an emblem of the desire to appear civilized and sophisticated to us. They have not yet been worn for sufficient time to induce the feeling that the parts that they cover (and that the native apron does not)
[853] are shameful or should be covered on moral grounds. They are so made as not effectively to conceal the breasts and women's dresses are, indeed, purposely made not to cover the breasts closely, for the practical reason of leaving the breast easily available to an infant, the dress never being removed or especially opened for this purpose. No man ever hesitated to remove any and all of his clothing, if he had any, except his loincloth, or to visit us if he had no other clothing. This less insistence, as compared with the women, on having European clothing betokens less pride, not that the clothing is less desirable as a symbol of what they believe to be progress, but mainly that male clothing is
[30] considered (and is in fact) less decorative. Similarly few women would think of appearing in society without as full a complement of necklaces and other ornaments as possible, while the men, not entirely above such frippery, considered it far less essential to their dignity and importance.

Cleanliness.

364 Within broad limits, the Kamarakotos are clean people. There is no great accumulation of refuse around the houses, partly because their diet produces little garbage and partly because they are reasonably careful to clean
[171] away what little refuse there is. A Kamarakoto settlement is not entirely odorless but certainly has none of the nauseous stench so often mentioned by travelers as heralding approach to an Indian village in other parts of South America.[226]
296 They do not mind a considerable amount of dirt on their clothing, but periodi-
515 cally do wash all clothing, getting it quite clean by pounding and strenuous effort and bleaching it in the sun.[227] They live near streams that are safe for bathing and all enter the water freely and wash themselves at frequent intervals so that their persons are usually remarkably clean.

226, 227 [see footnotes on p. 333, category 116 - Analyst]

177 life and in habits of thought and by things that induce or that follow such more
[291] thorough-going modifications. The aboriginal fringe apron was not essentially modified on the colonial level by the use of glass beads in its manufacture, but the introduction of dresses on the modern level betokens a profound change in the use of clothing and in the psychological attitude toward it and arising from it.

It is possible that the Kamarakotos were exposed to this modern level of innovation by the end of literally colonial times, but if so it did not permanently affect them and no trace of such old direct European influence is now clearly evident. Perhaps in the most exact sense and certainly as regards essential effect on them, Kamarakoto contacts directly with the outer world are about a generation old and have begun to have a profoundly modifying influence only in recent years, or one might almost say months. Five years ago the name "Kamarakoto" was known but the tribe, as a group of real human beings, about whom the cultivated world knew, could only be called undiscovered. In truth the Kamarakotos discovered the outer world, that is, civilized Venezuela, before the world discovered them. While learned men still did not know where or how the Kamarakotos lived, the Kamarakotos already knew quite well where the nearest Venezuelan towns were and what sort of life went on there.

177 On their own initiative they have brought back a great deal from these
185 explorations of their own, which still continue, and this is one of the peculiar and striking factors in their present cultural situation. One or two of the most influential men in the tribe, notably the cacique Alejo Calcaño, have lived for considerable periods in Venezuelan towns, learned Spanish, become conversant with at least the superficial aspects of Venezuelan civilization, and brought this knowledge back to the tribe. To extend and consolidate this influence the cacique himself sent his nephew Antonio Montesdeoca into the settlements to acquire similar knowledge and to return with it to the tribe. The attitude of these men is one of progressivism, as they understand it. They are not willfully destroying the Indian way of life, but their influence is almost constantly to make it conform more and more to the ordinary Venezuelan pattern. The effects are not very apparent as yet, but the nature of this influence from within augurs rapid change. The effects are probably nearly as rapid as would be those of direct contact by the tribe as a whole. At least they are less conducive to antagonism and degeneracy, for they tend to follow the course of adapting new things to the Indian life rather than of uprooting Indian culture faster than it can be replaced, a frequent effect of the usual means of direct action.

177 More direct influence is still more recent and is mainly represented by
183 our own expedition and, to less extent, by that of last year. Even when, as was not primarily true in those cases, such expeditions have the purpose of studying the Indians as they are, they inevitably have the effect of considerably upsetting things as they are. They introduce all sorts of goods that would not reach them

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Fig. 83 — Kamarakoto Mother and Child.

[163] Mode of carrying in the ever-present baby-sling. The woman (No. 11 of our detailed notes) is the youngest wife of the cacique and has three other living children. Her European earrings, the only ones seen in the tribe, are evidence of her favored position.

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Fig. 84 — Kamarakoto Adult Man.
No. 8, "Reyes," to'-esa' of Uruyén.

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Fig. 85 – Kamarakoto Young Men.
Nos. 22 (left) and 21 (right). Young adults from Atapamota.

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Fig. 86 — Kamarakoto Young Man and Boy.

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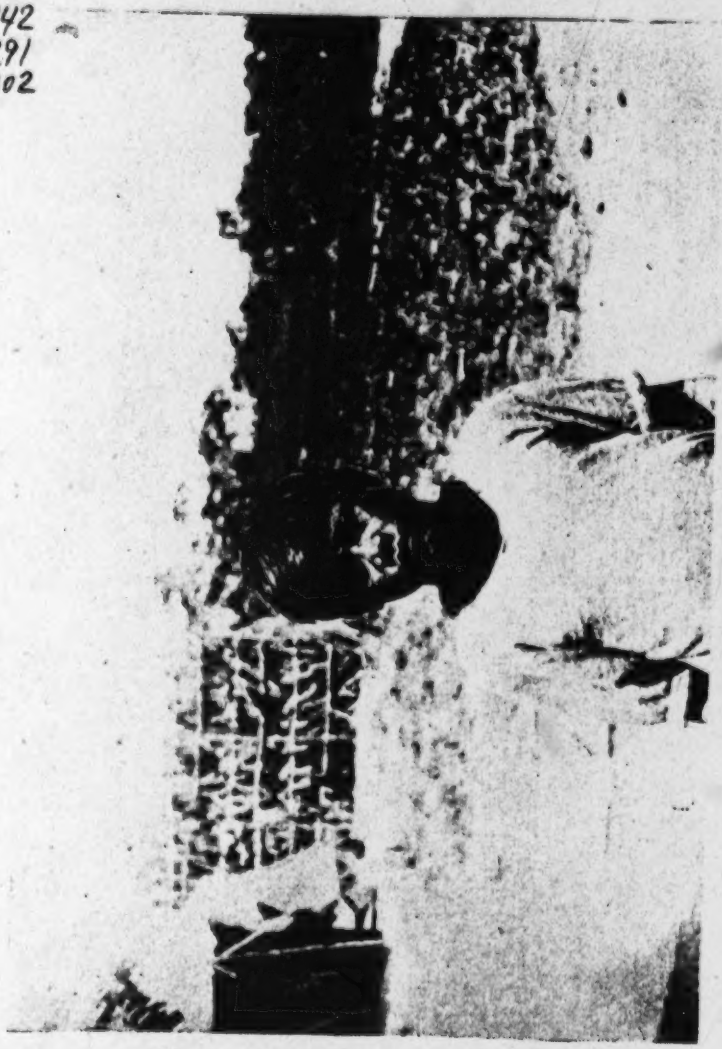

Fig. 87 — Kamarakoto Boy.
No. 16, nephew and adopted son of No. 8 (Fig. 84).

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Fig. 88 — Kamarakoto Family.

No. 42, to'-esa' of Amidan, and his wife, No. 44, and the youngest of his four living children (the second by this wife).

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Fig. 89 — Kamarakoto Adult Women.

No. 5 (left) and No. 4 (right), sisters, both married. Each has had two children but of the four only one son of No. 5 survives. They live in Abasakapan.

5:Simpson N-5 (1939) 1940 SS16 Pemon SS16
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Fig. 90 – Kamarakoto Adult Woman.
No. 34, married, one living son and one dead daughter, lives at Tuaiba.

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Fig. 91 — Kamarakoto Old Woman and Girl.

No. 31 (old woman) had eight children, of whom two survive. She is one of the few women recorded who are past child-bearing or who have grandchildren. She is the mother of Antonio Montesdeoca. The girl, No. 32, is the daughter of Antonio, granddaughter of No. 31.

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Fig. 92 — Kàmarakoto Young Girls.
No. 52 (left) and No. 51 (right), except for a month-old baby the youngest of six living and three dead children of the adult female No. 49.

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302 Women clip the hair in a bang across the forehead and let it grow down the back, although here, too, it may be bobbed. A few girls cut the hair in European male fashion ("boyish bob"), but this is exceptional. Many of the men now cut their hair short all around in the commonest European style, but others have a bang on the forehead and a bob around the back. In both sexes the hair usually is left free, without braiding or other special doing up, and [301] generally unparted. It is not native custom to wear anything in the way of ornament or headgear in or on the hair, except for special occasions like dances.

142 There is some tendency toward abdominal protrusion, so common everywhere among starch-eating and often parasitized tropical peoples, but it is seldom pronounced and often practically absent. Some children and adults of both sexes have slender and graceful figures even in this respect and practically 141 all are otherwise beautifully built. The average height of the men is 160 centimeters (5 feet 3 inches) and of the women 147 centimeters (4 feet 10 inches), while the average male weight is about 56 kilos (124 pounds) and female weight about 47 kilos (104 pounds). The tallest Kamarakoto seen, a man of course, measured 168 1/2 centimeters (5 feet 6 inches) and the heaviest, also a man but not quite so tall, weighed about 63 kilos (140 pounds), although one man of the same stock but from outside the central group weighed about 70 kilos 142 (155 pounds). These Indians are thus small, by our standards, although they are not pygmies and are indeed rather large as Guayana Caribs go, as will be shown below. No definite obesity was seen, and striking thinness is almost equally rare.

● [291] The feet, never in shoes and seldom in sandals, naturally tend to be broad and the toes, particularly the great toe, are divergent and mobile (Fig. 93). [514] They are used as extra fingers for many kinds of work, such as holding cloth when sewing or to pick up or pass along small objects without bothering to bend over.

304 Aside from tattooing and ear-piercing, mentioned on a previous page, 184 intentional mutilation or deformation is not practiced and even these relatively mild mutilations are indulged in only by a minority of the tribe. Unintentional 732 deformities are likewise unusual although I do not believe that deformed infants [247] are killed (information on this ticklish point is not reliable, but the fact that a few individuals are deformed suggests that the native claim is true). Out of 64 Kamarakotos definitely recorded in detail and about that many more examined more casually, one young adult had one short leg, apparently from an early fracture, another had the right external ear congenitally absent, a child (brother of the congenitally deformed young man just mentioned) had a deformity of the sternum, probably congenital, and another child had the eyes slightly crossed. These were all males and no deformed females were seen. Intellectual deformities, either lesions or intelligence below the normal range, are quite lacking as far as was observed. There are no mentally pathological or psychotic individuals

[Text continues on p. 286]

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Fig. 93 — Feet of Kamarakoto Females.

No. 49 (left, only one foot showing) is adult and the mother of the other three, left to right Nos. 52 (youngest sister), 51, and 50 (oldest sister, but probably not over 8 years). Note increasing spreading of foot and divergence of great toe with greater age.

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Fig. 95 — Arekuna (?) Adult Male.

No. 25, known as "Simón Bolivar," a member of the Kamarakoto tribe in a social sense but not of Kamarakoto descent or physical character, tribal ancestry doubtful.

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Fig. 96 — Taurepán Family.

No. 17 (Taurepán) and his wife No. 18 (T.) with two of their three living and three dead children. They live on the headwaters of the Kukenán near Roroimá. Note wooden pin in woman's lower lip.

5:Simpson N-5 (1939) 1940 SS16 Pemon SS16 Kamarakoto

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Fig. 97 – Taurepá[illegible]ult Male.
No. 10 (T.), now lives at Santa Elena a[illegible]s four dead and two living children (one an idiot).

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Fig. 98 — Taurepán Family.
No. 2, his wife, No. 4, and their only child. They live on the Kukenán near Santa Elena.

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291 127. Even if we agree, as I do not, that the Caribs wore no clothing
177 whatever before contact with Europeans. Alejo's date is too late by a century
[114] or two and it is virtually impossible that any authentic tribal memory is as old as that.

[123] 128. The women would never visit us except in dresses — I shall show
[562] on a later page that this was because of pride, fashion and authority, and not because of personal modesty or fear. They either stayed at home in the remoter places that we did not visit, or borrowed dresses for the occasion. The men wore trousers if they could, but had no hesitation in visiting us without them.

129. But by the time we left, the cacique was more conventionally clothed than we were and would have excited no comment on any city street. No other Indian achieved quite this degree of sartorial splendor.

130. Our party did supply them with some ready-made dresses, but this is a momentary phase. The women of the tribe as a whole are adopting and will soon universally wear the homemade costume described.

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114 131. This and the following paragraph are by my wife, Dr. Anne Roe.

171 132. In fact many culture traits common to these Indians and the civilized part of Venezuela are not evidence of Venezuelan influence on the Indians but of the reverse.

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126 133. except one Taurepán mosa that was not made for use but as a curio
128 for a missionary, who supplied the heads. Very misleading data are sometimes given by such made-to-order specimens and I may emphasize here that I have described nothing that was not seen actually in use by the Indians and collected nothing but used objects or, when this was impossible, new ones made for use and carefully compared with those that had been used. In the field of their special skills, notably basketry, the Indians can and will supply almost anything that a collector wants, but if he describes what he wishes and has it made to order, the result is likely to be definitely non-Indian in form and design.

114
301 134. If I understand Roth correctly (this passage is not entirely clear to
304 me), he considers the belief that these bands permanently groove the limbs "ridiculous" and "physiologically impossible" "delusions." Nevertheless it is a fact, fully proven by the plainly visible effects of the bands even when the bands themselves have been removed.